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A PRINCIPLE WHICH REQUIRES A BROADER APPLICATION

By Victor L. Berger

FROM time immemorial there have been in all civilized countries laws of a restraining nature. They were always based upon the principle that individuals must curb their powers, their passions, their desires whenever, by gratifying these, the interests of society as a whole might be injured.

Robbery, forgery, rape and arson are forbidden, because the commission of these crimes, if permitted, would prove injurious to the welfare of the people in general, though they might advance the interests of those committing them.

Let us suppose the case of a needy man who sees within easy reach the wherewithal to satisfy his wants. All he would need to do is to stretch out his hands to get it. Yet he is not permitted to do so. The law stands before him with a solemn threat. It tells him that it is wiser and better for the welfare of the community that he should suffer—or even that he should perish—rather than that he should

take things which do not belong to him. At least this is the contention of the state in enforcing this regulation. It is for the welfare of the many, as opposed to that of the individual, that this particular subject must restrain his desires, sometimes even his hunger.

In other words, the first law of nature—that of personal self-preservation—is made subordinate to the code of laws which has been adopted for the preservation of society as it is. A man who is starving cannot even steal a loaf of bread to preserve his life, because stealing is supposed to be destructive to society.

The principle is clearly established and recognized that individual interests—no matter how pressing—should not in any case supersede general interests.

And yet how limited is the application of this excellent principle of restriction.

The law which prohibits the gratification of the poor man's hun-

ger at the expense of his neighbor, to be logical, should prohibit the gratification of the rich man's greed at the expense of his neighbors.

If it is just and politic that individuals should be restrained whenever their actions tend to affect adversely the morals and welfare of the community or of the nation—then certainly a check should also be imposed on those who, by accumulation of wealth far beyond their needs, are instrumental in producing poverty and the crimes and vices which are the results of poverty.

If personal self-gratification and even personal self-preservation must make way for social preservation, then it should be required that the opulent surrender their riches in order to save the social organization.

If the principle of subjection to restriction for the general good is one whose application is essential to the welfare of the commonwealth, then even the power of indulging the passion of greed for immoderate wealth, which might inflict injury

on others, should be absolutely curbed.

There is a strange power whereby gold is drawn toward gold. The greater the accumulation, the greater the attraction.

There are a number of men in our country who annually add millions to their possessions. If the same process of accumulation were applied to land—and there is no law to forbid it—it is evident that a man acquiring a title to several million acres every year need only live long enough to become possessed of the earth. Considering the vast holdings of certain Americans now—and their strenuous efforts to add to these and the power thus obtained—there is no reason why a few men in our generation should not combine and form a powerful trust of trusts—compared with which the power of the Kaiser of Germany would sink to insignificance.

As it is now, our trust magnates—in spite of all the efforts of Roosevelt and Bryan and Bona-

parte and Taft—constitute a power in our public and private and social life which renders ridiculous all the pretensions of a republic of citizens "free and equal."

While we have a Democracy in name, we live in a plutocracy in fact.

But how long will it last?

For let it not be thought that the lessons of the past are completely forgotten.

The overthrow of mighty kings in the past, the breakdown of hierarchies and the reduction of popes, are not mere romances without historical meaning.

On the contrary. The history of the future can to no small extent be read in the pages of the past.

The princes and popes of the past claimed their power and their authority from God. If these princes, nobles and priests had their prerogatives curtailed in spite of their claim that these prerogatives were of divine origin, can our plutocrats expect that their power, that their prerogatives will last forever?

Or do they mean to say that the forward march of Democracy, which did not halt before the crown and the tiara—that the Democracy, which rebelled against the "holiness" of the crozier and the cassock—will forever bow down before the unholy power of the money bag?

And what did it profit to restrict the prerogatives of rulers and the privileges of nobles and of the clergy, as long as the privileges of wealth remain intact?

Distributing votes and concentrating wealth did not fulfill the promises of Democracy.

A score of men in our great country enjoy privileges, and have a power for weal and for woe—political, financial and social—greater than the privileges and powers of the millions of masses combined.

Call this state of things whatever you will, but you cannot call it Democracy. Claim for it what advantage you please, but you cannot claim that it is advantageous to the masses of the nation.

The principle which should guide our government—the principle which should guide every honest government—of subordinating the individual to the general welfare—requires a broader application than it receives at present.

If a man is not allowed to steal a loaf of bread from others to satisfy his hunger, then a man ought not to be allowed to steal a million loaves from others and steal them every day to satisfy his greed.

We have solved the problem of production, we must solve the problem of distribution—or our civilization will break down.

In short, our present Democracy cannot defend its very name against the encroachment of plutocracy. And what is worse, it cannot defend its very existence on the ground of equity, of morality, or even of expediency—unless it becomes Social-Democracy.

Victor L. Berger.

THE RED FLAG OF PEACE

By the late Osborn Ward.

[Liberally abridged from the historical work, "The Ancient Lowly," by Frederic Heath.]

THE typical "color" of the great non-laboring classes in ancient times was white and azure blue; while that of the strictly laboring elements was red.

This phenomenon has come down to us by the power of habit, from high antiquity. White, in heathen mythology, was thought to be emblematical of degree. It was the color used by the gens (or the gentle) families and by the priesthood. It is the color that befits itself to the people who do not work, who are insolent; who eat up the products of labor, who robe themselves in white and ascend throne, see, channel, pulpit or patriarchal seat, and who talk of their "subjects," whom they spurn and absorb. These colors we have spoken of date from a dim era of antiquity.

The idea of Aristotle, the practical, was that labor itself was pure, worthy and the only thing that could possibly lead men to knowledge and good; yet even his great mind could not at that early day discern a method of ridding the world of slaves, although Socrates, a member of a commune that carried the red banner, had told them that manual labor was a virtue.

As long as the ancient military ranks of the Greeks and Romans remained undefiled by the presence of slaves and freemen, or persons of lowly condition, the flags and banners were white or azure gray. But we find that, curiously enough, the red comes temptingly into the Roman tent at the very time when the workingmen began to assume military and political importance. It was evidently introduced as a means for inspiring this class of soldiers to desperate acts of valor, because the red flags of the communes were so sacred to them that they would recklessly cast their lives into the jaws of death in the act of recapturing them from an enemy. Multitudes of instances are on record proving that the Roman generals cunningly managed to lose the red banner, in some surreptitious manner, over into the enemy's camp at a moment of onset, thereby enticing the soldiers with a reckless oblivion of danger, as they rushed to seize from the polluted fingers of the barbarian their endeared and cherished flag.

We shall try to bring out, as far as authentic evidence can be had, the facts lying at the bottom of the ineffaceable love in the strictly proletarian class for the beautiful and incomputably aged red banner.

In the heathen mythology two great and celebrated deities presided over labor—Minerva and Ceres. The Greek names for these were Demeter for Ceres, goddess of agriculture and the earth's fruitfulness, and Athena for Minerva, goddess of manual labor and protectress of workingwomen and workingmen. These two deities wore flaming red. So Apollo, who was none other than the sun, was allied to them in functions, and his vestiture was red. Pomona, an allied divinity with Ceres, wore red also. The brilliant, flaming light of the sun is thought to have been the first object of awe and wonder before which primitive man bowed himself down in adoration. To the grand monarch of the day the ancient laboring man first gave homage for the light and heat which caused the fruits of his plowing to grow and ripen. He shed forth his crimson rays upon their labor, and his color was likened to the fluid that filled their veins. These gods and the corresponding gods of the Greeks thus became the protective

principle for the lowly, industrious class.

This accounts for the high-born, non-laboring element—the pretended pure, clean-washed and unsoiled—having a contempt for the color and for labor that soiled. And it also accounts for all the low-born (represented in occupations of agriculture and mechanics, like the laboring element, or the tainted, tarnished, sweat-begrimed) having a natural love of color, whose highest type is red.

The red flag was used also by merchantmen as an emblem of peace; as an emblem of Ceres, doubtless. It was most natural that the emblems of Ceres should be of red color. The products of her care furnished the red blood, the animating and strength-giving fluid of life. A powerful natural reason for their preferring this color was probably its beauty. Red is known in optics as the first color on the list. White is not a color. Azure is a hue. Red of a brilliant hue can be seen at a greater distance than any other color, and it is one of the most beautiful and inspiring.

Many have dubbed Ceres the tutelary patroness of the United States. The metaphorical meaning of the red stripes in the American flag is the same as that involved in the ancient flags, the wonderful history in the past of labor. It does not mean the revengeful, bloody red with the present meaning trumped up against it in some wilfully ignorant minds, covering with obloquy, which present society, unable to disabuse itself of the ancient grudge and contempt of labor, still uses against the red flag, but the reverse. Unwittingly, perhaps, the United States adopted the red stripes as a component part of its national banner, but the stripes, says Ward, conform with the ancient symbol red, enormously used by Roman and Greek—significant of the scourge, the stripes and lines of blood which streaked the naked backs of the poor and lowly of ancient labor.

The word flag comes from the Latin *flamma*, which means a blaze or flame. *Flamma* is an ancient word and had its origin in the red beams of the sun. The red flag was never popular with the ruling classes, naturally, and although it was looked down on its variations have come down to us in history.

But no amount of persecution could force the ancient organizations of labor to give up their red banners, and they are still carrying them from force of habit, although the belief in the once omnipotent Ceres and Minerva has long since faded from the earth. In the ancient days with the labor societies the red banner was emblematic of blood-making, that is, of building up. With the grandees, on the other hand, it was used as emblematic of torture or blood-spilling, and was never indicative of building up, either of the human body or of the body politic. The system upon which the ancient aristocracy rested was cruelly and ferociously competitive and its product was slavery, while its instruments of creating as well as perpetuating this thankless institution were the legalized lasciviousness of its lords, and whips and scourges dyed red in the blood of laborers. In Rome the laborers' love of the red banner was often turned to profit by the rich. After the overthrow of the Roman kings (B. C. 570) two officers, a shade below the kings in power, were installed as supreme rulers in their place and were known as consuls. There was growing conflict of authority between them and the growing trade organizations of the



A LABOR DAY SENTIMENT—Wm. D. Haywood

CAPITALISM is the common enemy of the working class, whether in the realm of empires, kings, emperors or "captains of industry." If there be a difference it is against the last named, who are the monarchs of wage slaves instead of serfdom subjects. They attempt to shirk every vestige of responsibility in a mad, wanton lust for the power of gold. Under a system that mortgages the inventive genius of man, capitalism assumes, in fact it claims, a vested right of private ownership in the collective production of society. It is the aspiration, the object, the sole purpose of the Socialists to dispel the illusion, to quash the presumption, to secure and control the means of production and distribution, to vest in every producer the honest right to the full equivalent for the product of his toil.

In the final adjustment of the war which Socialism has declared against capitalism, wage slavery will be abolished, labor, which produces all wealth, will continue in industrial activity with unwonted zeal, working under a self-ordained proclamation, confining the division of the collective product to the actual producers thereof, and a general industrial fervor will be ushered in. Every able-bodied man will contribute by brain or muscle to the general welfare, prosperity and progress.

The champions of the capitalist system, with swaggering blasphemy, tell of the nation's present prosperity, per capita the richest country in the world. But they neglect to say that four per cent of the people own over seventy per cent of the wealth and practically control the balance. While the workers toil and sweat, the shirkers are now, as usual, spending millions and hundreds of millions of dollars in Europe. This is only a part of the wealth, the prosperity, that the producers are bunched out of by playing at the capitalists' political shell game. The workers are neither bigots nor fools, but they have been lulled to sleep with the lethal weed of patriotism, while scoundrels who sing "My Country 'tis of Thee" are plotting their further downfall, asserting that commercial supremacy "demands a lower standard of living among the American working class." Are you prepared for it? Already the wife has been dragged from the home, the children from the school room and harnessed like beasts of burden to the industrial wheels of capitalism.

The Socialist platform is the cornerstone of industrial liberty. The program is clean, clear-cut, uncompromising. Principles cannot be arbitrated. For the class conflict will go on as long as one man eats bread in the sweat of another man's face.

workers. The kings had upheld the unions, the consuls sought to suppress them. The red flag was involved in the fight between lord and labor, one of the greatest intestine contests in Rome's history. During this five-year struggle certain subrulers made use of the color red to keep favor with the lowly classes.

When the Christians came upon this stage of events they took kindly to the red banner, being themselves sympathetic toward the slaves. In time, however, the priests gradually showed their preference for the white.

The association of the red color with the common class was not confined to Greece and Rome, but evidences come down to us from various parts of Europe. The ancient unions used it all over Europe. The trades union system of the Romans spread to Gaul and Britain, especially. The Crispins, who founded the order of shoemakers at

Soissons, are the first unions we know of in the north of France. The shoemakers adopted the red flag. In England today the red color rules so prevalent in heraldry is a survival of the "official" color of the common folk. The tanners, furriers, glovemakers and cobblers joined the shoemakers of France in adopting the red banner. In those early countries there are still records to show that the red banner was carried by carpenters, bakers, saddle makers, confectioners, cheese handlers, locksmiths, cutlers, marble cutters, glaziers, weavers, joiners, painters, hatters, tinners and butchers, for it must not be forgotten that the present trades unions are but counterparts of an ancient trades unionism, to which Mr. Ward devotes many chapters in his book. Mr. Ward concludes his chapter on the red flag as follows: "We have constantly found the red banner to have predominated only in PATHS OF PEACE, and

never outside that domain, except when the peculiar and well known attachment of the lowly to it was taken advantage of, do we find it in war. So it was used and so it careered in the early colonies of the United States. The early flag, true to the traditions of the past, was of a blazing red color in Massachusetts, in New York and probably in every one of the thirteen original states. It was used by Gen. Washington at the onset. When the war of the Revolution broke out it was a beautiful red, with the old merchantmen's ensign—a peace token—and men of peace suddenly found themselves forced to float the red ensign, in the absence of the war-flag, amid the clank and din of cruel strife. It was the flag of Lexington, of Bunker Hill, of Concord; and in its center shone the patriotic motto: 'Liberty and Union.' But those men were struggling for the right of free labor like the men of old."

A CHEER to the COMRADES

By Rose Pastor Stokes.

A WORD of cheer to the comrades." That is the demand. It reminds me of the word of cheer a bourgeois friend once

gave: "Why all this looking down? Why all this pointing at the sad, the sorrowful, the miserable, the wretched, the unjust in life? Is this all that you see, then? Why look down, why not look up? Come, cheer up, friend! The birds are singing, hear them? The sun shines, and things are green; the waters sparkle and the trees whisper glad secrets; and there is, oh, so much, gladness in life everywhere! Be optimistic!"

My answer to such words of cheer is this:

When an innocent, harmless people is oppressed, you rush into war—you throw yourself into the fire of battle to do and dare for others that others may be free. You are ready to give, with your nation, the last drop of life blood if need be, because you feel a sister nation's wrong. Spain? Spain shall not dare! We shall rush to the fray, and we shall not yield till Cuba is free! We shall hear nothing, feel nothing, see nothing but Cuba's misery, distress and bondage! (At least, so you, the people, felt; no matter what economic forces brought on that war and seemed to make it necessary.) True, somewhere the birds are singing and the sun is shining, the waves are kissing pleasant shores, and all nature is glad, and hundreds of thousands of human beings are glad also, aye, millions even. But who is the traitor that will dare, in a time like this, to call attention to these things away from the miseries of an oppressed people? Who the heartless ones who will dare breathe a word of these eternally glad things until an enslaved people is made free? Until the hands of the oppressors are made to drop the lash, the sword, the instrument of torture? Who?—Nay, Cuba must be free before any man who draws breath in our America will have heart to listen to the song of birds or glory in nature's gladness. Banish joy till Cuba is free! Joy lies dead till Cuba is free!

And you tell me there is joy, and you tell me there are many happy men and women and children in our land; and you tell me that the birds sing, and the fields are green, and the sun shines, and you enjoin me to look up and not down, that then I shall smile and not be sorrowful; but I tell you that there are ten million human beings in our America who are living on the edge of starvation; and I tell you that our people are being worked to the limit of their endurance, and enjoy not the fruits of their labor, and receive in return a wage to starve, suffer and die on. And I tell you there are armies of men and women past fifty cast out of the field of labor without man or state to care whether they live or die; that there are over two million little children in our land crushed beneath the burden of toil, day and night, in our mills and mines and factories, knowing of neither God nor man, except of God's silence, and of man's cruelty. And I tell you that there is a mighty class of workers in our land kept in darkness, and ignorance, and poverty, and wretchedness, and disease, and vice, and crime by another class of men who live in idleness and luxury upon the excessive toil of these workers. And I tell you these idlers commit a thousand crying crimes against the toilers; oppress them, and mete out to them gross injustice day by day, and heap upon them, consciously and unconsciously,

misery upon misery and woe upon woe. And I tell you that the hearts of men are breaking with this woe! And that, though there may be things joyous in the world and in nature, yet men must strive until social and economic injustice is wiped of the face of our fair land; until our prosperous land shall prosper all men instead of the few; until our prosperous land shall prosper in particular the toilers, the creators of its prosperity. And I tell you, until industrial, economic and social despotism is wiped out in a bloodless war and freedom from wage slavery is established, there shall be constant striving till the birds sing, and the sun shines, and the waters ripple, and nature is glad for all.

We have been diverted by these things long enough, and poverty has grown apace; and injustice, and greed, and inequality have grown apace. We have been turning our backs on the real issues in human affairs; pointing with pride to our country's wealth, and losing sight of our people's poverty. If you have the love of men in your hearts, if you have the love of justice and truth in your hearts, I appeal to you to cease dallying with pleasures that are trifles as compared with this great issue, and to take up the cause of justice, the cause of Socialism, the cause of humanity. And I tell you you must consecrate your life to it. And I tell you you must think of the millions who may not enjoy the birds and flowers, the light on sea and land, and all the myriad glad things. For the greatest joy in a world like our world of today is to suffer with the millions and strive with them upward and onward, even though slow the progress.

This is my word of cheer—my word of optimism. Not the optimism, this, of the wilfully blind, who believe that if they keep gazing at the sky the earth will cease to be, and that if they keep listening to birds the cry of the oppressed will be silent. No, this is the optimism of a divine discontent, the optimism of them that look "down," nor shut their eyes to the sight, but face the problems as they find them and vow that while the breath holds them they shall know nothing but unrest until real relief comes. Up with you, my pessimistic friends! There is work to be done. Help to do it.

That was my word of cheer then; and the same word I bring to you this Labor Day. Let not the blind rich brothers discourage us. Indeed, they can not. Do the spenders dance and frivol half the night away? Then do we strive and strain till away on the morning side of midnight, till for every age that they drag humanity downward, we shall lift humanity two ages upward.

Do they spend lavishly on baubles that shall not last a day? We shall deny ourselves much that we may the more lavishly spend in the movement against the unjust order of things that will not last a generation.

Do they believe that the power of money arrayed against the power of men in the right shall always win? Ours the privilege of proving that the power of men in the right arrayed against any evil will win in the end.

Theirs the universities, yes. But ours the street corners and the public halls. Do they poison the minds of the classes against progress in their institutions of learning? Ours to sweeten the minds of the masses with a new, sweet hope of progress in our institutions of learning.

A false political economy in the

(Continued on page 2.)

THE COMMON AWFUL FACTS

LEST WE FORGET, LEST WE FORGET!

As Against Capitalist Cannibalism the Socialists Demand the World for the People.

By Robert Blatchford.

LOOKING over a Sunday paper, I came upon reports of two cases of starvation. George Wright, a music copyist, age 49, was found dying on a doorstep, was taken to the Whitechapel Infirmary, and there died. He had been very ill for months, and had been "lying about the streets."

In the course of an inquest held at Hackney upon a newly-born baby, found dead in bed, the coroner asked the father of the deceased "How is it you are so poor?" To which the father gave answer as follows: "I have only done about six weeks' work since Christmas. The boot trade is very bad in London. I went on the road to try and get work."

Dr. Brown said "the place" (the "home") of these poor people was very clean, but almost empty, the poor woman having only a counterpane on the bed. The people seemed absolutely destitute. The coroner kindly granted a sovereign out of the poor box.

These are facts; common, horrible facts.

Not until "the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases," not while there is a single case of poverty in this nation will the genuine Socialist be content.

The Socialist ideal implies a great deal more than old-age pensions, doles for the unemployed, and the municipal ownership of trams.

The Socialist ideal means the nation for the people. It means more even than that. It means freedom of thought and speech for the people. It means education, and health, and justice, and self-respect for the people. For all the people.

INVEST YOUR FUNDS HERE.

Have you read our plan of paying all our present indebtedness and for the new cylinder press from the proceeds of the sale of the proposed issue of bonds? It seems not. For we are certain that if you did and had some money in a bank you would surely have invested. To make sure that you understand the proposition it will be explained again.

Early in the beginning of this year, the directors of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD decided that a plan of issuing bonds be proposed to the stockholders. Therefore, a special meeting was called, and, after the matter was thoroughly explained, the stockholders approved of the idea of issuing \$12,000 worth of bonds. These bonds are to be issued in denominations of \$25 and \$50 each, and bear interest at the rate of 5 per cent per year, payable semi-annually on the first of June and December each year. They are to be secured by a first mortgage on our entire plant, which is very conservatively estimated to have a value of nearly \$20,000. These bonds are entirely different from the stock. The stockholders own and control the plant. The bondholders have nothing to say about the running of the plant. On the other hand, they have a preferred claim against our assets. Stockholders have not paid their money with any idea of getting dividends or interest on the same. Feeling they ought to do something for the cause of Socialism, their help merely came in the form of purchasing stock.

Intending purchasers of bonds need have no fear about the safety of these bonds. The Social-Democratic movement in Milwaukee is growing, and its plant is growing even faster. If you have \$25 or \$50, buy one of these bonds. If you have more and you care to invest it so much the better. The interest will be met promptly. Here you have the chance to help Socialism and at the same time get rewarded for your help. Make up your mind right now, and do not wait any longer.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO.,
644 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.,
H. W. BISTORIUS, Bus. Manager.

SUBSCRIPTION FOR BONDS.

We, the undersigned, do hereby agree to and with the MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO. and with each other, to subscribe and pay for amount of bonds about to be issued by said company to the CITIZENS TRUST COMPANY, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as trustee, a total of said bonds in the sum of twelve thousand (\$12,000) dollars; said bonds to be issued in denominations of fifty (\$50) dollars, interest at the rate of five (5) per cent per annum, payable semi-annually; said bonds to be consecutively numbered and to be paid as follows: One-fifth, six years; one-fifth, seven years; one-fifth, eight years; one-fifth, nine years, and one-fifth, ten years from date of issue of bonds.

Said bonds to be secured by a first mortgage on the goods, property and chattels of said company, which are to be particularly described in the mortgage when executed.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this..... day of..... A. D. 1907.

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It means revolution; the greatest revolution the world has seen. It means political, social and economic revolution. It is mere weakness and unworthy subterfuge to pretend that Socialism means less than this. Not a jot, not a tittle less than this does it mean.

For, if there are to be no slaves, how shall there be any masters? If the land is to belong to the people, how shall it remain the property of the landlords? If no worker is to remain poor, how shall any idler remain rich? If every man is to have self-respect, how can he submit to be the hireling of a lord or of a class?

The Socialist ideal is not a compromise. Between liberty and serfdom there can be no compromise. The Socialist ideal is not a party expedient. It is a religion. It is the religion of the emancipation of mankind from tyranny and exploitation in all their forms.

This religion means that the human race shall own the earth, the whole of it. It means that every woman and man on the earth shall be master of her or his own body and soul. It means that no class privilege, no pride of caste, no old law nor convention shall be allowed to stand against the freedom and the welfare of the race.

To pretend otherwise is cowardice, or treachery. It is this we Socialists mean, and nothing else. We dare not prevaricate nor pretend. We dare not attempt to make our religion palatable to the most benevolent and amiable peer, or priest, or soap boiler, or pawnbroker, or plutocrat, or self-made man amongst the crowd of superior persons who will do anything for the poor man except get off his back.

Socialism means that intellectual and legalized brigandage shall follow physical and illegal brigandage into the limbo of the past. The slaves shall cease.

And what shall the superior person get for his superiority? He shall get—his superiority. He shall have the superior right to do superior work. He shall prove himself superior by living up to the motto of all true princes, "I serve." But as a slave-owner, a money-raker, an idler, or a poseur, he shall

find no demand for his services. Of such superiority Socialism will have none.

We want the world for the people; we want freedom, and plenty, and honor, and knowledge of all. We are Socialists, and we want Socialism. We decline to be respectable, and politic, and conciliatory, while men are dying on doorsteps, and women have no clothing to keep their babies alive.

O why and for what are we waiting? While our brothers droop and die, And in every wind of the heavens A wasted life goes by.

How long shall they reproach us, Where crowd on crowd they dwell, Poor ghosts of the wicked city, The gold-crushed hell?

Through squalid life they labored, In sordid grief they died, Those sons of a mighty mother, Those props of England's pride.

They are gone; there is none can undo it.

Nor save our souls from the curse; But many a million cometh, And shall they be better—or worse?

William Morris puts to us straight questions. What answer can we make? Something is being done for labor; in dribs and drabs.

What are we doing for Social-Democracy? What have we done with our Socialist ideal?

This is what Socialism means. This is what we stand for when we call ourselves Socialists. It is well in these times to make our purpose and our meaning clear, "lest we forget."

Ingersoll at the Tomb of Napoleon.

A little while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon, a magnificent tomb of gilt and gold, fit almost for a deity dead—and gazed upon the sarcophagus of fate and nameless marble, where rests at last the ashes of that restless man. I leaned over the balustrade and thought about the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world.

I saw him walking upon the banks of the Seine contemplating suicide. I saw him at Toulon. I saw him putting down the mob in the streets of Paris. I saw him at the head of the army in Italy. I saw him crossing the bridge at Lodi with the tricolor in his hand. I saw him in Egypt, in the shadows of the pyramids. I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him at Marengo, at Ulm, and at Austerlitz. I saw him in Russia, when the cavalry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast scattered his legions like winter's withered leaves.

I saw him at Leipzig in defeat and disaster—driven by a million bayonets back upon Paris—clutched like a wild beast—banished at Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where chance and fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king. And I saw him at St. Helena, with his hands crossed behind him, gazing out upon the sad and solemn sea.

I thought of the widows and orphans he had made, of the tears that had been shed for his glory, and of the only woman who ever loved him, pushed from his heart by the cold hand of ambition. And I said I would rather have been a French peasant and worn wooden shoes; I would rather have lived in a hut with a vine growing over the door, and the grapes growing purple in the amorous kisses of the autumn sun; I would rather have been the poor peasant, with my wife by my side knitting as the day died out of the sky, with my children upon my knees and their arms about me; I would rather have been this man and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust than to have been that imperial personation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great.

These are harder to educate to political (collective) action. Their efforts are expended individually; they work alone in isolated kitchens, they do not come in direct contact with the wage system; then, too, they are affected by the many agencies capitalism employs to control their brains and keep them from acting in their own behalf, as school book trust books, editors, lecturers and preachers, wrongly educated in privately endowed in-

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CAPITALISM AND WOMEN

By Gertrude Breslau Hunt.

THE prevailing capitalist code of "womanly" behavior for women is violated by the woman who demands the ballot and who studies and talks on political and industrial questions; but, because capitalism has so organized our social and industrial institutions that women are in its poverty, its disease infected tenements, its factories and sweatshops, its brothels and jails, its army of unemployed, its disfranchised, disinherited, exploited workers, they are demanding the right to order their lives and relieve themselves and their children of such needless oppression.

Anything that concerns the welfare of our great human family concerns its women most of all; we are half the race, we are mothers of the race.

The degree of intelligence that enables us to spin and weave, bake and sew, design and create myriad forms of use and beauty, is too great for us to continue long as



Gertrude Breslau Hunt

inferior, contented wage slaves. The more intelligent the slave, the more discontented is he with slavery.

Every problem that confronts her brother worker confronts woman as well; every evil of capitalism from which he suffers she suffers, and others besides.

Every class has its own ethics and thus capitalist ethics condemn every effort of man or woman that tends to overthrow capitalism.

It is the discontented woman who is asking the suffrage, and any justice to the people is a menace to capitalist profits and dividends therefore to be resisted by that class.

There are five million women toiling in our industries in this country, four millions more than own homes of their own. Do you wonder some of us begin to notice?

This, to say nothing of the millions of patient victims who are working as housewives at what would be about fifteen separate, specialized occupations, with crude tools and methods of four generations ago, instead of having at command all the wonderful forces of steam, electricity and mechanical device to make productive and effective their labors.

These are harder to educate to political (collective) action. Their efforts are expended individually; they work alone in isolated kitchens, they do not come in direct contact with the wage system; then, too, they are affected by the many agencies capitalism employs to control their brains and keep them from acting in their own behalf, as school book trust books, editors, lecturers and preachers, wrongly educated in privately endowed in-

stitutions of "learning," where the student's trust is betrayed and he is kept ignorant or is misinformed about the methods of capitalist confiscation of wealth through the ownership of the tools of production.

Women are learning rapidly now that the ethical forces are conditioned in their actual sphere of operation by the economic relations; that they cannot, by individual effort, protect and rear their children well—it requires collective effort to get proper hygienic conditions, education, wholesome food, pure water and many other things. These matters of life and death are decided at the ballot box. As soon as women learn the truth, they will not find them supporting a legal institution that forces them to sell \$2,500 labor power for \$447; we have been hunting bargains too long for that.

A few sanction giving the ballot to women with property—sacred property—more sacred now than life. If a woman with property needs the ballot, how much more does it mean to the one with absolutely nothing but her labor power to depend upon, and how easy to move on from such a precedent to disfranchising men without property.

Socialism offers to women every opportunity, political and industrial. Come, join the party, help fight the battles and achieve the victories of the social revolution.

We must learn how to act collectively to remove wrong, outgrown institutions and establish right ones.

Covet the honor of being the first woman to join the local, or the latest one if you have been timid.

It is not enough to have good motives; we must learn to act wisely and efficiently; two people of equally good motives might visit a sick patient and one would administer carbolic acid instead of olive oil—the result would be as deadly as if the motive were vicious.

The Socialist party trains and educates its members to be efficient builders of the commonwealth; it offers you a priceless privilege; it needs you; we need you and you need us. Let us use and develop every power and faculty in defense of ourselves and the race we bring into the world.

THE SANS-CULOTTES.

A Song for the Russian Revolution.

People! Ye that toil and suffer! People! Ye that bleed and die! Now your standard is exalted, Now your day is drawing night! Let the trumpets sound your coming.

To the reverberating sky! Like the patriot-bands that made Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid; Like the storm-wind sweeping shoreward— Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!

To the throbbing drums of Freedom and the thund'rous cannonade!

All the darkness is behind you, And the midnight of your woe; All the bonds wherewith they bind you In their hell of Want below!

Now, O, people, see the sword-shine!

See the dawnshine come and go! As your eager ranks go by! Lo! before each burning eye Floats the phantom of your pity, Tombed in many a blazing city, Where your sisters writhed in torment, where your butchered kinsfolk lie!

Like the patriot-bands that made Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid; Like the storm-wind sweeping shoreward— Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!

To the throbbing drums of Freedom and the thund'rous cannonade!

Crowned is he that stands against you, With a crown of crime and flame; For to justice, foe to freedom, Every letter of his name Burns like fire from hell to blacken

Love, and light, and truth, and fame! Brothers, scorn his bought array! Yet that braved without dismay Hiring-bordes together banded, Black of heart and bloody-handed, When the face of day was darkened, and the weak became a prey!

Like the patriot-bands that made Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid; Like the storm-wind sweeping shoreward— Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!

To the throbbing drums of Freedom and the thund'rous cannonade!

Heard ye not a cry of anguish? Yea, his very dungeons weep! Where the friends of Freedom languish, Where her murdered children sleep!

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They were sowers in the seed-time, Ye are sickles, strong to reap! "Through our triumphs and our tears Ye were with us, pioneers! Now the fires of Dawn are leaping Ye are with us at the reaping, Hero-hearted sons and daughters of the long, unlighted years!"

Like the patriot-bands that made Tyrant-hearted Kings afraid; Like the storm-wind sweeping shoreward— Pikes and sabres! Forward! Forward!

To the throbbing drums of Freedom and the thund'rous cannonade!

Ernest Jones.

Says the Evansville Labor Journal: "We can march in labor parades until Hades boils down to a poultice, but unless we vote as we march we'll never purify the bench, get the legislation we deserve, secure the recognition that must be ours, or alter conditions that now so heavily oppress us. The political game is the game that capital plays to offset the work of organization among workmen. Labor Day parades are all right, but wouldn't a solid election day parade look well?"

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ROOSEVELT'S WESTERN LIFE

DID NOT FIT HIM TO JUDGE
HAYWOOD CASE

A Little History That Disproves His
Claim of Superior Inner Knowledge
of Mine Workers' Lives.

By Frederic Heath.

PROBABLY no state utterance ever met with a more prompt and decided execution from the people of America than that recent master break of the president of the United States in which he denounced certain spokesmen and leaders of the working class as "undesirable citizens." It called forth a mighty protest from ocean to ocean, and that protest will not down, but bids fair to play a notable part in the coming presidential election. Coupled also with the sentiment expressed by the president that the officials of the Western Federation of Miners should be condemned in advance of trial, and the affront further augmented by his more recent fulmination that the people should not abide the verdict of a jury trial, there is no question that the sense of fair play that molds in the breast of nearly every American has felt the outrage and that the resentment to follow will make or shape history in not far off future. It has struck the people as also the height of indelicacy and unfairness that a man could so far mistake his position as to use the highest office in the gift of the people for a platform from which to launch forth his ill-natured class venom. The office has been lowered in dignity. For the first time a president has used it to hurl forth personal invective based on personal likes and dislikes.

About the only excuse offered for this remarkable state of things has been the cautiously advanced idea that Roosevelt formerly lived in the West, therefore had experience by which to judge of Western conditions. That when he denounced the miners of the West he spoke from personal knowledge of the species. Therefore it becomes proper to enquire just what his Western experiences really consisted of. Luckily this is already in black and white.

Roosevelt went West in 1884 to gather material for his book, "The Winning of the West." He reached the Dakotas, bought two ranches, both well stocked, and settled down to cow life. He learned cow punching from the top to the bottom,

could swing the lariat, brand a calf and take his end in the scuffling and wrestling that tended to enliven the monotony of life on the plains. His associates were rough men mostly, some of them refugees and jail birds from the East, others were Texans who had come North with cattle, and stayed there. They loved to gamble, to fight, and to drink. They were handy with the gun and liked to brawl, especially round pay day. Thefts of horses and cattle were frequent, and often the best stock of a ranch would be run off in the night by the brigands of the prairies.

This always meant a man hunt, and the cowboys would spring up from all directions to enjoy the excitement of the pursuit of human game. If the thieves were overtaken it meant a noose and a swing from any convenient branch or post. Then the hunters would riddle the corpse with bullets and ride away, leaving the cadaver to swing and decay in the breeze as a visual and odorous warning to others. These conditions existed all over the West at that time wherever there were ranches and herds.

Gradually, as civilization began to thicken the population, order had to come out of lawlessness, and it was usually the latest arrivals from the East who initiated the idea of organized government. It is now claimed that Roosevelt was the man who first suggested the idea of a county government in the part of the Dakotas where he was located. And it is probably true, and not very singular. Court law was to be substituted for lynch law, and in course of time the county of Billings came into existence, with Medora as its capitol. Billings was the first county organized on the Dakota frontier.

Roosevelt also took a hand in the politics of the new county and saw that sufficient law officers were elected, for he had a good deal of property at stake. Public schools were established and other civilizing agencies. Disorder and debauchery fell away before the new state of things, leaving only here and there the gambler and the plugging gun man.

In the spring of 1886 Roosevelt sold out his ranch and shook off the dust of Western life from his shoes. He returned to New York and entered politics. The town of Medora is now shrunken to a few buildings, but it still marks the spot where the "Terrible Teddy" soaked up his "intimate knowledge of Western conditions," the "intimate" knowledge upon which he based his offensive "undesirable citizens" fulmination.

From the above it will be seen that there is very little foundation for the claim that Roosevelt has been better able to judge than our Easterners of the probable guilt or innocence of Moyer, Haywood or Pettibone. He was a cow puncher, not a miner, and the Western desperado he became familiar with was not the miner who so far forgets his docility as to rebel against long hours in damp, unhealthy holes in the ground, or who objects to being gouged by company stores and company scrip on top of the wage too low in the first place for adequate citizenship, but the gambler and gun man, a species much used by the Standard Oil "law and order" brigade in connection with the conspiracy of the mine owners to break up the big Western labor organization. It is too bad perhaps to puncture the story about Roosevelt's superior inner knowledge, but these are the facts.

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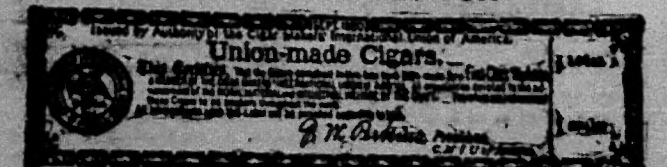
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WHEN THE WORKERS RULE

By J. Keir Hardie, M. P.

THAT the rule of the worker is on its way there can be no manner of doubt. Of its coming we have many indications. * * * That which at present tells most against the rapid spread of the Socialist movement in the United States is the opposition of some of the leaders of the trades union movement. Five years ago a like remark would have applied to the leaders of British trades unionism. The growth of Socialist opinion, the pressure of economic circumstances, and the open hostility of the law courts to trade unions have all combined in producing a marked change in their attitude to labor politics, until now almost every trade union and trade union leader of any note in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales is cordially cooperating with the British Socialist organization—in building up a party separate and distinct from existing parties. So great has been the progress already made that nearly one hundred candidates sought election last year,



J. Keir Hardie.

most of them pledged to political independence.

To the Socialist this means legislation which aims at the reorganization of society on the basis of the public ownership of capital and the co-operative production of such commodities as the community requires for its sustenance, comfort, and convenience. Clearly this is a phase of the work of the labor movement in which all who accept the Socialist conception of society may take part, whatever their social position in life may be. Many of the best known leaders of Socialist thought and opinion in every country are drawn from the ranks of the educated classes.

Socialists do not in these days dogmatize on the form which the state of the future will assume. They are content to leave that to the future as a matter which does not concern them. They point to the indisputable fact that the private ownership of capital and the competitive method of wealth produc-

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and capital are owned, whilst labor is hired, the wages of the hiring being fixed by competition tend always to fall to the point of subsistence; the lower the grade of the worker the keener naturally is the competition for jobs, and the wages of the unskilled therefore are always nearest to the starvation limit. Thus it works out that the common people are always kept poor, whilst the wealth that their toil creates is being filched from them in ever increasing amounts by those who own capital, without the use of which labor, as things are, is helpless.

When labor reigns militarism will disappear. It is part and parcel of the capitalist system, and will die with it.

When we reflect that in the twenty-eight principal nations of the world there are 33,000,000 men trained as soldiers, of whom 8,000,000 are actually under arms in times of peace, and that the yearly cost of maintaining this huge engine of destruction and oppression in a condition of efficiency, more or less and apart from the actual cost of war, is \$1,850,000,000, it is unthinkable that labor, which has to bear the cost of war in life and money, will not find a more reasonable and human method of settling such international disputes.

Wars are either the outcome of the ambitions of rulers or of the necessities of certain vested interests. The Russo-Japanese war belonged to the former category, the American-Spanish and the British-Boer wars to the latter. Had there been no American sugar interests in Cuba, and no British gold mining interests in the Transvaal, neither of these wars ever would have taken place.

When labor rules the world not only will class be freed from bondage to class, but nations from subjection to nations. The race is one and indivisible, and freedom can only dwell in the race, and not in selected portions thereof.

Finally, when labor rules the world, kings, emperors, czars and nobles, and all such mischievous relics of the childhood of the race will be swept into oblivion. Already they have outlived their usefulness. England.

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PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

The Principles of International Collectivism as set forth in the National Platform, adopted at Chicago, May 8, 1904.

I. We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratization of the whole society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agents of great property interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges and our courts. They have

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POVERTY

By ROBERT MANTON.

A touching account of the life and death of a poor man, who, through the help of his friends, was able to escape the clutches of poverty and live in comfort.

Published by the Social-Democratic Herald.

344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university, the public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon the government, it has bought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces above subsistence wages. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Social-Democracy comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty depends, and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the vast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II. As an American Social-Democratic party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of the International Social-Democracy as embodied in the united thought and action of the Social-Democrats of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the workers of the world are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is in the power which these give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggle of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Social-Democratic movement, therefore, is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III. The Social-Democratic movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development of world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyment these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever a worker owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labor of scores or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas and continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the land and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than

there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded on fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental harmony, or for the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV. The Social-Democratic program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in trade unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the constitution of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crises of civilization, the Social-Democratic movement comes as the only saving and conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Social-Democratic movement. The Social-Democratic party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Social-Democracy means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall be owned by the workers; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V. To that end that the workers may seize upon the possible advantage that they strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Social-Democratic party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increased wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of income, inheritance, and of franchises and land-values; for the right of the workers to public employment and bettering the conditions of the workers' children and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative and referendum, and the recall of officers; their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every worker, elected to any executive or legislative office, the duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the workers.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial means to the means to the great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers both for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America and to all who will lend their lives to the cause of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Social-Democratic party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for the common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves and those which we present to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom of the whole man.

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THE BASES OF SOCIALISM

By H. L. Nahin, M. D.

Historic Basis of Socialism.

SOcialism is an evolutionary phase of social development. Its growth is historically traced from the lowest to the present high state of social development. Society by degrees passed from its loose and unorganized state to higher forms of organization. In each period of development it became more definitely organized, and thus became prepared to enter a higher form of social life.

The historical development of society began with the single savage—the unbridled terror. Absolute individual free play constituted the characteristic feature of primitive life. From this low unorganized state it passed into a compulsory association, or slavery. As civilization advanced it was forced into a higher association—the semi compulsory association of labor under feudalism. The latter again was replaced with free association in the field of production. Now, by the force of its inherent growth, it must enter a higher form of organization—a voluntary and mutual co-operation. To complete the historical link of development it is urged to enter the next higher social order—the harmonious co-operation in production and distribution of wealth.

We thus observe that the higher the social organization advances the more mutual and voluntary becomes its association. Hence the evolution of society from the highest form of individualism to the highest form of collectivism is a historical process of development.

Economic Basis of Socialism.

Economic systems do not appear spontaneously, but they develop in accordance with well defined economic laws. Man adopts such economic activities as will prolong life and make it pleasurable. The inherent impulse to live impels the individual to change his desires and activities. In turn, the conditions under which the necessities of life are secured determine the character of the relations existing among the members of a community.

In the early growth of society the desires of the single savage, though few and simple, were difficult to obtain. The competition for

the necessities of life was great. Life was a continual free fight. War of each against all constituted the normal state of affairs. The strong had to prey upon the weak or starve. Unrestrained individual conduct was what nature bestowed upon her darling—the strongest—to carry on the battle for life. Each savage made, owned and operated his own arrow and spear with which he secured a living, hence he had no need of any association.

In the second period of social development the requirements of life increased. These were hidden in the mother earth, sea and forests. To convert them into consumable form for human use required combined social labor. Such labor could not be gotten. No one would voluntarily sell himself to slave for another when he could be his own master; for land, sea and forests were then in abundance. Any one desiring to till, hunt or fish could do so with no difficulty. Hence enslaving the weak constituted the only means by which the acquisition of combined social labor could be secured. The strong savage was no longer in need of the nourishing material which the dead body of the captive contained. He was greatly in need of his productive power. He discovered that a live captive was more useful than a dead one. In his body he found incorporated the means of making his life more pleasurable—tools of human flesh and bones—hence he enslaved him. Thus compulsory association of labor constituted the second step in the economic evolution of society.

The association of labor under the slavery system favored social growth. The social instinct was born. The advantage of division of labor was discovered. Civilization advanced. The individual and social requirements of life increased. To secure them necessitated a higher productivity. Compulsory association of labor came to be inadequate. The constant wars, riots and insurrections only retarded productivity, but caused great destruction of life and property. Hence feudalism—a semi-compulsory association of labor—was introduced. This economic process proved to be more

productive, since each serf was made directly interested in sharing the products of his extra physical exertion. These economic relations were more favorable for social progress. People became free to barter with one another. Thus a new field of social activity was created. By this process social composition was greatly advanced. Tribes were formed into nations with common interest and common aspirations. The state came to be a more representative body.

However, the life period of this economic system was also limited. The requirements of life came to be more luxurious. The sterile field of feudalism was no longer compatible with the economic, political and social institutions. Agricultural production ceased to satisfy the requirements of a civilized society. Hence a new field, industry, was called upon to supply the human cravings. The gates of commerce had to be opened. And to promote its progress, physical and mental labor had to be set free. Restricted labor would impede the constitutional growth of commerce and industry. Hence the inauguration of the wage system—the free buying and selling of labor—constituted the most potent economic system by which this process was successfully consummated.

Again the wage system brought new problems. The life of the individual became more complicated. Advanced industry replaced hand labor with mechanical appliances and physical power. The tools of labor have no longer any connection with the body of the laborer. These the genius of labor created, from its body liberated, and set in competition against itself. The masses are thus dispossessed of the means by which life is maintained. Machines, raw material—the most important factors in modern production—are divorced from labor and are in the possession of a few. Hence the real producers create wealth, but receive wages—barely enough to live. Labor is propertyless and the acquisition of property is laborless. The former must work without living and the latter live without working. These economic relations gave rise to two hostile classes, which are waging war against each other, thereby threatening the stability of society.

We thus observe that the present economic organization forces society into a higher form of organization. Its continuance can no longer be tolerated, since under its regime the masses can not rise to the modern standard of living. Production is carried on co-operatively. The same is protected, valued and consumed collectively. There is no measure by which we can determine the loss of energy and the share of products of one as set against the other. Our life is social throughout. Hence society in order to live must carry this process to its logical end by displacing the few, who are no factors in the production of wealth, and itself take possession of all those means by which social life is maintained. It must adjust the economic relations of its members so that products so created by collective force shall be distributed by the collectivity. And in order to make social co-operation mutual and voluntary, each member of the community must be benefited in just and equal proportion by each other's activities. Thus the evolution of individual competition to collective ownership and mutual co-operation is an economic process of growth.

Biological Basis of Socialism.

Throughout the individual or social life we notice that the lower the organization, the lesser are the desires, the fewer and simpler are the component parts, and the more are the respective members independent of one another. On the contrary, the higher the development the more numerous are the desires, the more numerous and complicated are the constituent parts, and the more are the respective organs dependent upon one another.

The bodily construction of a rhinoceros is simple. The scales or segments of a worm are similar to each other in appearance. Hence the requirements of life are non-luxurious. Divide the worm into two or more parts and life will not be interrupted. In the process of creeping absorbs its nutrition without the aid of the other segments. Not so with a frog, which is a higher organism. Cut the frog into two parts and death will immediately follow, for the life of each part of the frog is dependent upon the function of all, and all are dependent upon the work of each.

Likewise in social life. The requirements of the single savage were simple. Each savage could construct his own dwelling, own a hut and operate his ax without the aid of his fellow savage. For public services he had no need. This accounts for the fact that the socialities of the Caribbees, Fijians and Tasmanians were loose. Their separation did not materially disturb their life.

But with the advance of social organization the desires of life increase. Today we need thousands of things which individually we can not obtain, such as public highways, transportation, light, fuel, water plants, hospitals, libraries, etc. The labor is therefore divided into various branches. The function of each thus becomes specialized, fit only for the performance of a particular branch of industry. The individual thus constitutes a small part of a cog in that great mechanism called the commonwealth. Hence the members of a community living under such conditions become necessarily dependent upon one another for their sustentation. And in order to continue such life uninterruptedly it is essential to maintain harmony among the mem-

THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE

POPULOUS LOCALITIES MUST HAVE LUNGS.

What The Modern Municipality Could Do to Conserve the Health of the Workers. Influence of Verdure on Human Life.

Milwaukee.—The Milwaukee city council recently established a Metropolitan Park Commission, the duty of which should be to plan an adequate park and boulevard system for the city for the future, taking into account the probable growth for the next fifty or more years. The commission was nominated by a committee of three aldermen, one of them, Ald. Melms, a Social-Democrat. The commission as nominated and as confirmed by the city council contains two members of the Social-Democratic party, Charles B. Whitnall, the treasurer of our party in Wisconsin, and John Reichert, secretary of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council. Charles B. Whitnall is a man in the prime of life, who was for years a florist, and who has made an exhaustive study of forestry and floriculture, although at present treasurer of a local trust company. His opinion has always been in demand along the lines indicated, and his stereopticon lectures in the public school free courses and before various societies have been regarded as the expression of a man who could speak with authority.

Inasmuch as the Metropolitan Park Commission is expected to plan for future needs and on a practical and extensive, and even revolutionary scale for a future which will, through education, demand more of life than is the case at present, Comrade Whitnall was asked the other day to outline to HERALD readers the transformation that might be wrought in city conditions provided the city fearlessly and conscientiously proceeded with the object of restoring to city dwellers the health and vigor that they are now being deprived of.

"In the first place," he said, "it must be recognized that the movement for the parking of the modern industrial city started as a sociological problem. It was found that the city had to draw on the country for its vitality. Capable investigators found that the third generation of city born people showed degeneration. That the city had to draw on the country as much for its people as for its food. This condition proves that something has to be done."

"In getting the city back to normal conditions we find that the all-essential factor to be taken care of is the atmosphere. This is little thought of by the average landscape gardener, who works more to please the aesthetic requirements. But still, fundamentally, the atmosphere in the first consideration. Take an ordinary elm tree that weighs eight or ten tons. The impression is that it has grown out of earth. Yet 95 per cent has really come out of the atmosphere. Burn the tree to ash and the little ash you get represents the inorganic matter. Some sulphur has been liberated, of course, but this is offset by the carbon—charcoal—that has come partly from the air.

"Now scientists know that animal life is still more dependent on the air than vegetable life, being higher up in the scale of things. So the object of parking is the preservation of the atmosphere as nearly as possible, and while we are not able to analyze the atmosphere very accurately, we know of it by the effects which can be produced through the use of trees, shrubbery and accompanying vegetation. Therefore the utility side should be the side to work from. The artistic will flow out of it naturally."

"The sociologists have convinced us of the devastating effects of our city life. We find that the principal cause of the evil is the deadly drafts in between the buildings, down the streets and alleys and particularly among the sky-scrapers. This is perhaps very simply demystified by our very common habit of blowing a spoon to cool it, or breathing on our hands to warm them. We use the same mouth and the same quantity and quality of air—the difference is in the arrangement of the lips. This difference is parallel with the movement of air through the trees and through our city buildings. Trees are pliable and admit all that is essential for ventilation with no harm to animal life. By surrounding our buildings with vines, trees and shrubbery we can to a great extent produce the same feature in the atmosphere that is peculiar to country conditions. And if we are not careful to construct our park work with this object in mind, no matter how many acres we may devote to parks they will be more or less a failure. The first consideration in parking should be the location of the parks. It is now very generally agreed that a park more than six blocks from a home is of no utility to that home."

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So the problem is to get the benefit for as many homes as possible. It is the duty of the municipality in arranging parks—or atmospheric conditions, we might call them—to place them where they will benefit the largest number of people, not only where people go to bed at the spot where they claim their home, but most particularly where they are when most active and subject to the most fatigue—when they catch cold easiest.

"The most essential remedy for this catching cold tendency is to create parkways along the thoroughfares where the largest number of people are obliged to travel daily. I say parkways instead of boulevards, because boulevards have something about them that is undesirable. They are usually fashionable drives on the outskirts, patrolled by police, and where useful people are kept off. They have done very little good. Here in Milwaukee the city could take such thoroughfares as Third Street, running north and branching into the Green Bay Road, Chestnut Street, the Blue Mound Road, National Avenue, Muskego and the Chicago Roads, for parking, and so on. These should be made into parkways running down into the city and out into and past the line of the county, and should be at least 160 feet wide.

"In constructing this sort of city artery, so to speak, street car tracks, city sewers, should be in the center, protected by trees, which not only add to comfort, but drown noise—a consideration little thought of, yet important. This leaves ample room on either side for traffic and virtually an elongated park for the thousands who travel back and forth daily, along these parkways there should be seats and also comfort stations at least every three blocks. And in the laying out of these elongated parks the city or county should purchase a tract of land, with a width of at least two blocks, so that on either side of the parkway there could be homes, the land owned by the city, but leased out for residence purposes. With the improvements the income would more than pay the interest on the first cost of parkway construction.

Mr. Whitnall paused here to show how easily it could be shown that this was practical even from a business standpoint. He explained that Huntington, the Beggs of Los Angeles, Cal., had acquired long and continuous strips of land for the right of way for his various and interurban electric lines and had arranged residence lots all along the parked right of way and had actually gotten his road for nothing by applying the income from the homes to the cost price of his line. Homes with quick communication with the city, and yet with country surroundings had thus been afforded the people, and they had flocked to them. The travel on the other country roads had performance been transferred to the roads paralleling his tracks.

"In these parkways going out (Continued on page 4.)

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WE CLOTHES MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND DIGNIFIED CREDIT IS GIVEN TO EVERY ONE. COMPLETE NEW FALL STOCK ON HAND—SOME OF THE HIGHEST FAVORED STYLES ARE SHOWN NOW. THE GARMENTS SHOWN IN THIS COLLECTION, EACH AND EVERY ONE, HAVE BEEN THE CHOICE OF THE GREATEST FASHION EXPERTS. CALL AND MAKE YOUR SELECTION NOW. GOODS ON FIRST PAYMENT. OPEN YOUR ACCOUNT WITH US NOW. MAKE THIS STORE YOUR HOME TRADING PLACE. NO COLLECTORS. YOUR CREDIT IS GOOD.

This season's Men's Suits. It means a sure fit, a perfect satisfaction and the lowest price for quality—some of the best styles—try one.



Ladies' Fall Suits—some good values. Coats in all lengths, to please every desire; the color, style and fabric are varied.



Ladies' Broadcloth Suits—favorite style for the coming fall season—black, blue and brown—collared—less effect—tailored—lined, double breasted—skirt extra full cluster.

MEN'S TOPCOATS, \$10.00 to \$25.00—MEN'S CRAVEN-ETTES, \$15.00 to \$25.00—MEN'S SUITS, \$10.00 to \$25.00—LADIES' COATS, \$7.50 to \$30

FANCY AND WHITE VESTS Some of the Very Newest Patterns

BOYS' SCHOOL SUITS—FALL STYLES

WE HANDLE THE "WEARPROOF" SUIT. GIVE THIS SUIT A TRIAL; IT IS ONE OF THE BEST SUITS KNOWN FOR VALUE AND WEAR—THE WORKMANSHIP IS OF THE BEST AND THE STYLE VERY NEW. KNICKERBOCKER OR KNEE PANTS—PRICE \$5.00.

WM. L. PETRYKOWSKI, Manager.

Organized Labor



MILWAUKEE.

Federated Trades Council. Regular meeting, Aug. 21, 1907. Bro. Joseph Wittmann in the chair. Bro. F. E. Neumann vice-chairman. Minutes read and approved. Delegates seated from Cement Workers, Iron Molders, Leather Workers, Bartenders and Plasterers. The special committee to sell Labor Day tickets reported that it had sold, up to date, 9,111 tickets. The committee on the establishment of a subsidiary exchange of the Farmers' Society of Equity, submitted a recommendation report on the subject. The recommendations were discussed by a great many of the delegates, but as no definite action could be taken, a motion was made to refer the recommendation to a committee of five, and said committee to submit a more feasible plan for the operation of a subsidiary exchange. Motion carried. Bros. Melms, Muth, Jeske, Neumann and Thate were appointed for said committee. Bro. Berger asked for a special privilege to report that Bro. D. C. Coates, ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Colorado was present and that he be invited to speak. He said: "Milwaukee today is the best organized city, Socialistically, of any in the country. It has the best economic and best working class political movement of any city in the

United States. And it is because the movement in Milwaukee is an intelligent movement. The people know what they want, and they have the courage to go after it."

Bro. H. J. Conway, president of the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association was also present, but on account of the lateness of the hour, did not speak. The executive board reported on its meeting of Aug. 14, that it had appointed Bros. Handley, Sheehan, Jeske, Coleman and Weber to meet and entertain Bro. Haywood.

Meeting of Aug. 18: The communication of Meek Company, manufacturers of celluloid advertising novelties, was returned because it did not bear the printers' label. They recommended that as the commission of Bro. Feeley as deputy organizer of the W. S. F. of L. had expired, he be reappointed. Board reported that Berninger's Park was still on the "We don't patronize" list. Recommended that an order be drawn in favor of Labor Day committee to pay expenses of Bro. James M. O'Neil as speaker on Labor Day.

On motion it was ordered that the Los Angeles Central Labor Council publicity circular be printed in full. (Will appear next week.) On motion it was ordered that the printers, the B. T. C. and commercial telegraphers' resolutions be printed in full.

Bro. Hamman made a motion that all members of unions take cognizance of the fact that the Germania Reporter, the official organ of the Germania Fraternal Society, did not bear the printers' label, and as a great many members of said society were members of trades unions that it was their duty to refuse to accept the Germania Reporter, and also to refuse to patronize those that advertised therein until such a time as the Germania Reporter recognized the typographical union.

Label Section report filed. Receipts for evening, \$22.43; disbursements, \$122.52. Frederic Heath, Rec. Sec. Frank J. Weber, Sec. pro tem.

Commercial Telegraphers' Resolution. WHEREAS, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America is on

strike to secure the right to belong to the union of their craft, and to receive a fair compensation for their labor, and an eight-hour workday; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Federated Trades Council of the city of Milwaukee to call upon every union affiliated to give their moral and financial support to Milwaukee Local No. 2 of the C. T. U. of A.

WHEREAS, The eight-hour day has for years been looked forward to by all the toilers of the land, and endorsed by organized labor universally, every movement to that end being staunchly supported by the general public, and

WHEREAS, Milwaukee Typographical Union, No. 23, has demanded of the employing printers of this city that the eight-hour day be inaugurated in their composing rooms, as has been done in more than 500 cities throughout the United States as well as Canada; and

WHEREAS, Several proprietors of printing offices in the city of Milwaukee have refused to grant the shorter workday, and because of the demand made upon them have locked out or forced a strike of the printers employed in their establishments, and

WHEREAS, The union label of the Allied Printing Trades Council stands for the eight-hour day, and all that is fair and just in the printing trade; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee that the efforts of the Typographical union to establish the eight-hour day be again endorsed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That organized labor refrain from patronizing firms that advertise in publications executed in non-union shops; that members of labor unions belonging to fraternal societies put forth special efforts to cause the union label to be displayed on all printing done for such societies; and to withdraw from those societies which show themselves hostile toward the labor movement by having their printing done in non-union shops and ignoring the union label.

RESOLVED, That we deplore the

fact that the Germania Reporter, (the official organ of the G. U. G. Germania) and other printed matter of this society, are the product of imported strikebreakers to the education of some of the officers and alleged friends of the Germania society, who are enemies of organized labor (and some of whom are financially interested in printing offices employing strikebreakers of the worst type), in total disregard of the sentiments of the membership of the G. U. G. Germania, which membership is composed almost wholly of organized workers.

WHEREAS, Pursuance to such refusal the Building Trades Section, at its last meeting has placed this hall on the "We do not patronize" list, and has instructed its secretary to submit this action to the Federated Trades Council for endorsement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Federated Trades Council in regular meeting assembled that the action of the Building Trades Section, placing the South Side Turn Hall on the unfair list, be endorsed, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all unions affiliated with the Federated Trades Council be notified of this action and instructed not to patronize this hall in any way—By H. C. Raasch, secretary of Building Trades Section.

Vacation Trips. Charlevoix, Petoskey, Traverse City and return \$7.00, Mackinac City and return \$8.00, Mackinac Island and return \$9.00, via Pere Marquette Line Steamers. Dock 68 W. Water street. Telephone 68 717.

Milwaukee Socialist Notes. Comrade E. T. Melms will deliver the Labor Day address at Neenah, Wis., on Labor Day, while comrade A. J. Welch will perform a similar act at Wausau, Wis. Both of these picnics are held under the respective labor councils in each city.

The county central committee will hold its next meeting at Paschen's hall, 325 Chestnut street, Monday eve., September 9.

The Workmen's Sick and Benefit Societies No. 185 have arranged an entertainment and ball at the South Side Turner hall, Sunday afternoon, October 20. Everybody is cordially invited to attend.

The Jewish Section has arranged for a mass meeting in regard to establishing a Jewish newspaper in the West, the meeting will take place at Paschen's hall, Sunday evening, September 1, 1907. The following comrades will address the meeting: Dr. Knopfnagel and J. Siskin, both of Chicago.

The next meeting of the Danish Branch will be held on Tuesday, Sept. 3, at 262-264 Fourth st. There will be a discussion on "Capital and Labor." All members are requested to be present. Meeting opens at 8 P. M. sharp. Iver Petersen, Sec'y.

The friends of the Polish Socialist Daily at Milwaukee, have arranged a picnic for the benefit of the paper: "Dziennik Ludowy." Sunday, September 1, Labor Day eve, at Hanerwase Park, Eight ave. and Manitoba street. Take Sixth ave. car to the end. The Polish Socialist Singing Society and Dramatic Society will appear at this picnic. Tickets 70c; children accompanied by parents free.

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Recent HERALD callers: Martin Hendrickson, California; Geo. Roewer, Boston, Mass.; J. Hahnemann, New York City; John Geis, Plymouth, Wis.; Chester Wright, Manitowish, Wis.; J. G. Irwin, Wyocena, Wis.; W. Krall, Chicago.
Prof. Alfred Russell Wallace says that Edwin Markham is the poet of Socialism, and his poem, "The Muse of Brotherhood," one of the very finest in the English language.

English aristocracy is still mourning the fact that Sir Charles Palmer, the big ship builder, was beaten out of his seat in parliament by the Socialists. Palmer held the Jarrow seat since 1885. Pete Curran, the labor leader, was the man who pried him loose.

When the lawyers get at that \$500,000 the manufacturers' association is to raise to fight labor unions, they won't do a tug to it! It will be rich picking while it lasts.

Under the capitalist system some forms of human labor are cheaper than machine labor. Under Socialism the burden of labor will be thrown as much as possible on machinery in order that human beings may be free to enjoy as much leisure as possible. But the benefits of the machine production will go to the workers, not to a small capitalist class.

A "Social Unrest" week was recently held at the original Chautauque in New York, and was a fine success and certainly profitable to the cause of Social-Democracy. Among the speakers were John Graham Brooks, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Henry Claws, Rose Pastor Stokes, Bishop Potter, Ermaun J. Ridgway and others. Among other things there was a pretty good joke on Henry Claws of Wall street. When Graham Brooks was making his talk he paid particular attention to the misrepresentations of Socialism and tried to impress on the opponents of Socialism that they lost ground by stooping to misrepresentation. For instance, he said there was the joke gotten off by the old party stump speakers about the two Irishmen, one of whom said he believed in Socialism and in dividing up (the state old allegation against us) and was then put through a catechism as to how far he would give the other one. Then the other asked if he had two goats if he would give him one, whereupon the "Socialist" replied "No, because I have two goats!" Mr. Brooks said that the man who told that "silly and insane" story as an answer to Socialism argument marked himself as ignorant and stupid. An hour later Mr. Claws was given the platform. He had not

"SAY!
I certainly am strong
for this town."
Patricia O'Brien.

DAVIDSON
All Week, Com. Sunday
Matinee—Wed. and Sat.
ROSE STAHL
Management
Harry B. Harris
The Comedy
Triumph
of the
Century
FOUR MONTHS
IN
CHICAGO
The Chorus
Lady
A Comedy
by
James
Forbes
Prices: \$1.50, \$1.75c, 50c, 25c

Blatz Park
on Upper Milwaukee River.
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Gems for the Socialist Scrap-Book.

LXXVII. THE MUSE OF BROTHERHOOD—Edwin Markham.
I am the Expectancy that runs:
My feet are in the future, whirled
On wings of light. If I have any sons,
Let them arise and follow to my
star.
Some momentary touches of my fire
Have warmed the barren ages with
a beam:
There is no peak beyond my swift
desire,
There is no beauty deeper than my
dream.
I make an end of life's stupendous
jest—
The merry waste of fortunes by
the few,
While the thin faces of the poor are
pressed
Against the pines—a hungry whirl-
wind crew.
I come to lift the soul-destroying
weight,
To heal the hurt, to end the foolish
loss,
To take the toiler from his brutal
fate—
The toiler hanging on the labor
cross.
I bring to earth the feel of home
again,
That man may nestle on her warm,
still breast;
I bring to wronged, humiliated man
The sacred right to labor and to
rest.
I bring to man the fine ideal stuff
The young gods took to build the
spheres of old:
The fire I send on men is great
enough
To burn the iron kingdom into gold.
I hold the way until the bright heav-
ens bend—
Until the New Republic shall arise,
And quick young deities again de-
scend,
Bringing the gifts of God with joy-
ous cries.
I lead the Graces and the Winged
Powers:
The world the Anarchists build I will
destroy,
For I will storm upon its demon
towers,
With wind of laughter and rain of
joy.
And at the first break of my Social
Song
A hush will fall upon the foolish
strife
As though a joyous God, serene and
strong,
Shined suddenly before the steps
of life.
Cold hearts that falter are my only
bar:
Heroes that seek my ever-fading
goal
Must take their reckoning from the
central star,
And follow the equator: I am Soul.
My love is higher than heavens where
Taurus wheels,
My love is deeper than the pil-
lared skies:
High as that peak in Heaven where
Milton kneels,
Deep as that grave in Hell where
Caesar lies.
Still hope for man: my star is on the
way!
Great Hugo saw it from his prison
isle;
It lit the mighty dream of Lamen-
naise;
It led the ocean thunders of Carlyle.
Wise Greeley saw the star of my de-
sire,
Wise Lincoln knelt before my hid-
den flame:
It was from me they drew their sac-
red fire—
I am Religion by her deeper name.

THE MINER'S TALE

THE lord of us, he lay in
his bed,
Good right had he—good
right;
But we were up before night had
fled,
Out to the mines in the dawning
red,
Slaves were we all, by hunger led
Into the land of night.
The master knew of our danger
well,
We also knew, we knew,
His greed for profits had served
him well,
But he over-reached himself as
fate befell,
And I alone am left to tell
Death's horrors I lived
through.
The master dreamed, mayhap, of
his gold,
But we were awake—awake,
A True Story.

the Socialists of the world at Stutt-
gart, Germany, but they give us
some idea of the success of the con-
gress, which shows how the old in-
ternational, begun by the eminent
Dr. Karl Marx, and supposedly
short-lived, is really living today in
an emancipating brotherhood that
touches fingers round the entire
globe. Over eight hundred dele-
gates were in attendance at Stutt-
gart, representing all nations, in-
cluding Japan, China, South Africa,
Argentina Republic, and so on. The
address of welcome was delivered
by the veteran August Bebel, the
great Social-Democratic orator and
leader in the German reichstag. The
exact number of delegates was 866,
representing 25 countries or nation-
alities. A large number of women
were among those sent by the dif-
ferent countries. The United States
was largely represented, England
sent over a hundred representatives,
including Bernard Shaw, Beatrice
Webb and Quetch, Prof. Ferri was
among those from Italy, and some
of the biggest men of French public
life were also enrolled. The big
delegation from Russia all appeared
under assumed names for the sake
of avoiding oppression at home on
their return. Among the delegates
from this country were J. G. Phelps
Stokes and Robert Hunter.

Party News.
Rufus W. Weeks, actuary of the
N. Y. Life Insurance Company and
author of several Socialist pam-
phlets, has just returned from a trip
through France.
Comrade W. D. Haywood re-
mained in Milwaukee nearly a
week, and has now returned to Den-
ver. He was in need of a rest, and
as he took a fancy to Milwaukee
was prevailed on to take life easy
for a few days.
The number of plate matter sub-
scribers is on the increase—
seventy-nine are now on the list.
Many more can be secured. Send
for sample page and contracts.
The miners' unions of the Paint
Creek, W. Va., district, having ar-
ranged for a Labor Day picnic at
Ash Camp, invited a Socialist
speaker. The Colliery Company of-
ficials, who are also the legal of-
ficials of the vicinity, thereupon
notified the unions that they could
not hold the picnic (on company
ground—there is no other) unless
they canceled the speaker's en-
gagement.

CRYSTAL
At the Crystal next week a fine
line of attractions have been
brought together, headed by the
great singer, Olive Vail. Dillen
and Fields; Ferry, the frog man;
Courtthorpe and Forrester, a new
and novel lot of motion views.
The International Union of Indus-
trial Insurance Employers calls upon
the members of organized labor to ask
every insurance worker for his union
card. If he can not show the card, will
each individual member of organized
labor forward the name and address of

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